

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 17707 01 OF 03 050126Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 IO-13 INR-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /063 W
-----072734 050148Z /73 S

O R 042125Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2579
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 17707

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, US, CG, FR
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH FRENCH ON ZAIRE AND AFRICA

REFERENCE: (A) PARIS 17456 (B) PARIS 17703

SUMMARY. IN A RESTRICTED MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN DELEGATION SUNDAY, SYG SOUTOU AGREED TO RESTRICT THE FORMAL AGENDA FOR THE MONDAY MEETING TO ZAIRE'S ECONOMY AND SECURITY, WHILE HOLDING INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF BROADER ASPECTS OF AFRICA SECURITY AT A MEETING OF HEADS OF DELEGATION (PLUS JOURNIAC) OVER LUNCH. NEWSOM SUMMARIZED US LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY THE REALITIES OF WORKING TOWARD A WESTERN ORIENTED SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND BY US DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS. HE SUGGESTED A SYNCHRONIZED AMBASSADORIAL PRESENTATION TO MOBUTU AFTER MONDAY'S MEETING TO HELP PREPARE THE WAY FOR REAL REFORMS TO COME OUT OF THE BRUSSELS MEETING. HE RAISED THE QUESTION OF ONGOING SUPPORT FOR THE SHABA FORCE ONCE EMPLACED. SOUTOU TOLD OF SAUDI ARIABIAN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE MOROCCAN FORCE CONTRIBUTION. FRENCH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 17707 01 OF 03 050126Z

DOUBTS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY OAU UMBRELLA FOR THE SHABA FORCE WERE PRESENTED, AND A DISCUSSION OF A POSSIBLE PRESS STATEMENT SHOWED CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FRENCH AND US PREFERENCES ON LANGUAGE, THE FRENCH ENVISAGING AN EXPRESSION OF WESTERN READINESS TO HELP AFRICAN COUNTRIES "ORGANIZE THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN SECURITY."

END SUMMARY

UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM, NSC MEMBER BARTHOLOMEW, DAS WALKER, AND DCM MET WITH QUAI SYG SOUTOU AND DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGY SUNDAY MIDDAY TO REVIEW AGENDA FOR JUNE 5TH MEETING ON ZAIRE. SOUTOU REVIEWED HIS EARLIER PROPOSED THREE PART AGENDA (PARIS 17456) AND TOOK NOTE OF BRITISH AND USG CONCERNS RE LAST TWO ITEMS (RE CONTINENTAL SECURITY) WHICH HE SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET. HE ACKNOWLEDGED VALIDITY OF FEARS OF LEAKAGE OF ANY DISCUSSION OF MORE GENERIC AFRICAN SECURITY CONCERNS AND POSSIBLE WESTERN SPONSORED RESPONSES, AND SUGGESTED A REVISED MONDAY PROGRAM AS FOLLOWS. MONDAY MORNING SESSION WOULD COMMENCE WITH TOPIC OF ECONOMIC AID TO ZAIRE, INCLUDING REFORMS. LUNCHEON WOULD THEN PERMIT PRIVATE TABLE FOR HEADS OF DELEGATIONS PLUS ELYSEE AFRICANIST JOURNIAC TO TALK ABOUT BROADER AFRICAN SECURITY PROBLEM, WHICH WOULD NOT APPEAR ON AGENDA. (WE ARE PROPOSING THAT BARTHOLOMEW JOIN THIS RESTRICTED FORUM). AFTERNOON SESSION WOULD THEN CONSIDER ZAIRE SECURITY QUESTION, WITH REPORT FROM FRENCH MILITARY FAMILIAR WITH SHABA SCENE. SESSION WOULD THEN CONCLUDE WITH CONTINUED ECONOMIC TOPIC INCLUDING TYPES OF REFORMS WHICH SHOULD BE PURSUED IN ZAIRE. THE UNDERSECRETARY ACCEPTED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 17707 01 OF 03 050126Z

THIS MONDAY PROGRAM.

2. SOUTOU CONTINUED WITH PHILOSOPHICAL EXPOSE OF HIS THINKING ON THE AFRICAN PROBLEM, WHICH HE SAID IS SHARED BY PRESIDENT GISCARD AND FOREIGN MINISTER GURINGAUD. IN BRIEF, FRENCH HOLD THAT WHILE SOVIETS HAVE NOT CREATED ALL OF AFRICA'S PROBLEMS THEY HAVE BEEN WILLING TO SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES AND THAT NOW THEY HAVE GONE TOO FAR. EARLIER FRANCO-MOROCCAN RESPONSE TO SHABA I INCURSION HAD CLEARED UP IMMEDIATE SITUATION, BUT ZAIRE HAD NOT USED THE SUBSEQUENT FOURTEEN MONTHS PROFITABLY TO STRENGTHEN ITSELF. THE SITUATION AS A RESULT OF SHABA II IS MARKEDLY WORSE, SINCE NO PULL-OUT

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O, MR. SCOTT.

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PAGE 01 PARIS 17707 02 OF 03 050119Z
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CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /063 W
-----072712 050148Z /73 S

O R 042125Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 17707

IS POSSIBLE OF THE RESCUING FORCES WITHOUT REPLACEMENTS.
AN AFRICAN FORCE IS NEEDED FOR A DUAL MISSION: TO
REASSURE THE WHITES AND ZAIROIS AND TO DETER FURTHER
ADVENTURES. THE AFRICAN TROOP CONTINGENTS HAVE TO
BE BOTH DISCIPLINED AND EFFECTIVE TO BE ABLE TO FULFILL
THIS DUAL ROLE. THEIR SUCCESS WILL GAIN FURTHER TIME
FOR ZAIRIAN REFORM. FRANCE AT PRESENT SEES NO
ALTERNATIVE TO MOBUTU, A VIEW FOR WHICH UNSEC NEWSOM
EXPRESSED US AGREEMENT. SOUTOU CONCLUDED BY
STRESSING THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WEST OF THE SOVIET-
CUBAN CHALLENGE IN AFRICA, COMPARING IT TO THE
TOTALITARIAN CHALLENGE OF THE NINETEEN THIRTIES.
HE MAINTAINED THAT AN EXHIBIT OF WESTERN UNITY
AROUND THE CONFERENCE TABLE ON MONDAY WILL BE AN
IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION OF WESTERN UNITY AND RESOLVE.

3. UNSEC NEWSOM RESPONDED BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE WEIGHT
BEING BORNE BY FRANCE IN AFRICA AND IN CHAD,
DJIBOUTI, ZAIRE AND ELSEWHERE WHICH IS A STRONG PLUS
FOR THE WEST GENERALLY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT US RESPONSE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 17707 02 OF 03 050119Z

TO THE FRENCH REQUEST FOR AIRLIFT SUPPORT SHOWS BOTH
OUR UNDERSTANDING AND WILL TO SUPPORT FRENCH EFFORTS
AND TO SHOW THE SOVIETS AND CUBA THAT THE WEST CAN
WORK TOGETHER. HE THEN SUMMARIZED THE NEW DEPARTURES

IN US AFRICAN POLICY IN THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF, WHICH ARE SEEKING TO MAKE SURE THAT THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE RESOLVED IN A WAY THAT WILL PROTECT WESTERN INTERESTS BY PRODUCING A WESTERN ORIENTED SOLUTION. THE COOPERATION OF SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES, SUCH AS NIGERIA, ZAMBIA, TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE IS ESSENTIAL TO THAT EFFORT. THEREFORE, HE CONTINUED, WE MUST BE CONSCIOUS OF THE EFFECT OF OUR RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS OF BROADER AFRICAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ON THOSE KEY STATES. US QUESTIONS AND RESTRAINTS ARE AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THIS REALITY. HE ALSO TOUCHED ON THE RESTRAINTS THAT FLOW FROM US DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS, NOT ONLY THOSE OF GROUPS CONCERNED WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT ALSO OF THOSE MORE CONCERNED IN THE POST-VIETNAM ERA WITH AVOIDING INVOLVEMENT IN DISTANT CONTINENTS. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THESE LIMITATIONS, THE UNDERSECRETARY EXPRESSED US READINESS TO DISCUSS WHAT WE CAN DO FOR INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN THE SECURITY AND ECONOMIC FIELDS.

4. TURNING TO ZAIRE, UNSEC NEWSOM MENTIONED THE NEED TO EXPLORE IN SOME DEPTH ON MONDAY THE PROBLEM OF ONGOING SUPPORT FOR THE ZAIRE AFRICAN FORCE ONCE EMPLACED. THE USG, HE NOTED, WHILE LIMITED IN WHAT IT CAN DO HAS ASSUMED A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY BY LIFTING THE TROOPS AND IS CONCERNED OVER THE QUESTION OF THEIR SUPPORT. HE ASKED FOR INFORMATION ON THE SAUDI ROLE AND ITS DURATION, ON THE PROSPECTS OF ORGANIZING AN OAU UMBRELLA FOR THE SHABA FORCE,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 17707 02 OF 03 050119Z

THROUGH PRESIDENT BONGO, AND ON THE POSSIBLE REPORTS TO OR ACTIONS IN THE UN. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE HE CALLED FOR IDEAS ON WHAT REALISTIC REFORMS CAN BE IMPOSED ON MOBUTU, SUGGESTING THAT THE MONDAY MEETING LOOK AT THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEMARCHE TO HIM JOINTLY OR SEVERALLY IN KINSHASA, WHICH WOULD OBTAIN HIS REACTION AND ENSURE A PREPARED ZAIRIAN DELEGATION AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING.

5. SOUTOU EXPRESSED FRENCH COMPREHENSION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A WESTERN ORIENTED SOLUTION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT POINTED OUT THAT A ZAIRE SOLUTION IS LINKED TO SUCH AN OUTCOME IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. HE NOTED WITH INTEREST THE INCLUSION OF MOZAMBIQUE AMONG THE FOUR KEY STATES OF THE FRONT-LINE. AS TO US DOMESTIC CONCERNS, SOUTOU REMARKED THAT ALL OF US START THE DAY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE AND UNDERSTAND THEM WELL. HE THEN CALLED ON DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN

AFFAIRS GEORGY TO RESPOND TO OTHER POINTS.

6. GEORGY EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT AN OAU UMBRELLA
COULD BE CREATED FOR THE SHABA FORCE. HE NOTED
THAT THE VUSCVYTSSIVE STATES WOULD BE ON THE
OFFENSIVE WITH CHARGES OF IMPERIALISM AND
FORESAW ONLY A SPLIT IN THE OAU. NEVERTHELESS
BONGO WILL DO HIS BEST, HE SAID, IN THE OAU
MEETING IN KHARTOUM JULY 6-7.

7. SOUTOU SAID THAT KING KHALID OF SAUDI ARABIA, IN
HIS TALKS WITH GISCARD LAST WEEK UNDERTOOK TO PAY FOR

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PAGE 01 PARIS 17707 03 OF 03 050134Z
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CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /063 W
-----072745 050149Z /73 S

O R 042125Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2581
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 17707

EQUIPMENT FOR THE MOROCCAN FORCE. ASKED ABOUT THE
NYTIMES STORY ALLEGING KHALID HAD MENTIONED GIVING
AFRICANS MILITARY EQUIPMENT OBTAINED FROM THE US,
SOUTOU REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT THE
GISCARD-KHALID MEETING, BUT THAT HE HAD NO INDICA-
TION ANY SUCH COMMENT HAD BEEN MADE. NEWSOM POINTED
OUT THAT WHILE SUCH A COURSE WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE
IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO FOLLOW DUE PROCEDURES IN
AUTHORIZING THIRD COUNTRY OF US ORIGIN
MATATERIAL. SOUTOU ADDED THAT THE KING HAD
BEEN VERY PREOCCUPIED BY AFRICA AND HAD
EXPRESSED A STRONG BELIEF THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE

GONE TOO FAR IN ENCOURAGING THE SHABA INCURSION.

8. SOUTOU THEN DEVELOPED A FRENCH IDEA THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE RECENTLY MADE A SHIFT IN THEIR AFRICAN POLICY, CITING IN SUPPORT THE HUSAK-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE LATTER'S VISIT TO PRAGUE. THE FRENCH PERCEIVE THE COMMUNIQUE AS NOT ONLY PROMISING SUPPORT TO PROGRESSIVE AFRICAN STATES BUT AS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 17707 03 OF 03 050134Z

GIVING OFFICIAL RATHER THAN PARTY UTTERANCE TO THE IDEA FOR THE FIRST TIME. HE AGAIN NOTED THAT EROSION OF THE MODERATE STATES IN AFRICA IS THE MOST SERIOUS CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY RUSSIAN ACTIVISM IN AFRICA. SOUTOU SAID THAT FRANCE WANTS THE MODERATES TO BE AWARE THAT THE WEST WILL ALSO MOVE IN THEIR SUPPORT.

9. SOUTOU THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF A COMMUNIQUE OR STATEMENT TO ISSUE FROM THE MONDAY MEETING. NEWSOM EXPRESSED US PREFERENCE FOR A STATEMENT FOCUSSED ON THE ZAIRIAN QUESTION ONLY. SOUTOU IN RESPONSE EMPHASIZED THAT THE MONDAY MEETING'S HAVING TAKEN PLACE IS A MAJOR PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN SECURITY AND THAT IT WILL GIVE PAUSE TO THE SOVIETS. HE CALLED FOR A STATEMENT ATTUNED TO THE TWIN GOALS OF REASSURING OUR FRIENDS AND CAUSING THE OTHER SIDE TO STOP AND REFLECT. HE SUGGESTED A POSSIBLE STATEMENT SUCH AS QTE HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE FIVE COUNTRIES MET AND AGREED ON RECOMMENDATIONS TO TAKE TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS ON ZAIRE'S ECONOMY AND SECURITY AND ON AID WHICH CAN BE GIVEN TO AFRICAN STATES THAT ASK FOR HELP IN ORGANIZING THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY. END QTE. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH WOULD WORK UP A DRAFT OF THEIR IDEAS FOR THE MEETING ON MONDAY. (OUR DELEGATION IS PREPARING A COUNTER DRAFT WITH SANITIZED FINAL CLAUSES. WE WILL IF NECESSARY SEEK TO CLEAR BY PHONE WITH DEPARTMENT AND NSC ON MONDAY.) GEORGY DRAWING ON HIS EXTENSIVE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE MAINTAINED THAT A GOOD COMMUNIQUE WILL DO MORE THAN THE SHABA FORCE TO STABILIZE AFRICAN MORALE.

10. CONCLUDING THE SESSION SOUTOU STRESSED THAT THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 17707 03 OF 03 050134Z

ELEMENTS FOR DISSUADING FUTURE INCURSIONS ARE THREE

FOLD, ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE THREATENED COUNTRIES, A FRENCH READINESS TO GO BACK IN WITH TROOPS IN AN EMERGENCY, AND A GOOD COMMUNIQUE FROM THE MONDAY SESSION. AS THE SESSION BROKE UP HE RESPONDED TO THE UNDERSECRETARY'S QUESTION BY AGREEING THAT IT IS THE FRENCH IDEA THAT SOME PART OF THE FRENCH PARACHUTIST FORCE REMAIN IN KOLWEZI UNTIL THE MOROCCANS ARE BOTH ESTABLISHED THERE AND ACCEPTED BY THE POPULACE AS EFFECTIVE. HE ALSO AGREED WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT THE MORE MULTILATERAL THE AIRLIFT, THE BETTER IT WOULD BE AND ACCEPTED THE SUGGESTION THAT THE BELGIANS MIGHT WELL PLAY A ROLE, SAYING THAT OVER 25,000 JOBS IN BELGIUM DEPEND DIRECTLY ON SHABA'S ECONOMY.

11. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE SUNDAY MEETINGS RESOLVED KEY QUESTIONS AND PAVED WAY FOR USEFUL MEETING MONDAY. WE WOULD APPRECIATE URGENT COMMENTS FROM DEPARTMENT AND KINSHASA ON IDEA OF DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU. KEY REMAINING IMMEDIATE QUESTION RELATES TO PRESS STATEMENT WHICH WE HOPE TO REVOLVE TOMORROW. MOST SERIOUS LONGER RANGE QUESTION RELATES TO SUPPORT OF AFRICAN FORCE; WE WILL SEEK TO GET EUROPEANS TO FOCUS ON THIS WHILE AVOIDING COMMITMENTS OURSELVES. WHILE THIS IS NOT OUR RESPONSIBILITY WE CANNOT ESCAPE CRITICISM FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHOSE TROOPS WE ARE LIFTING IF THEY DO NOT RECEIVE ADEQUATE SUPPORT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, MEETINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PARIS17707
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780233-1062
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780698/aaaadgmy.tel
Line Count: 359
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5f3abe92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 PARIS 17456, 78 PARIS 17703
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2497346
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONSULTATIONS WITH FRENCH ON ZAIRE AND AFRICA
TAGS: MPOL, US, CG, FR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5f3abe92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014